5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

were sitting, very likely the young people would be talking and laughing about their own concerns, and making so much noise that the elders could say nothing. If this continued too long, one of the older men would be likely to get up and go out and get a long stick and bring it in with him. When he had seated himself, he would hold it up, so that the children could see it and would repeat a cautionary formula, "I will give you gum!" This was a warning to them to make less noise, and was always heeded — for a time. After a little, however, the boys might forget and begin to chatter again, and presently the man, without further warning, would reach over and rap one of them on the head with the stick, when quiet would again be had for a time.

In the same way, in winter, when the lodge was full of old and young people, and through lack of attention the fire died down, some older person would call out, "Look out for the skunk!" which would be a warning to the boys to put some sticks on the fire. If this was not done at once, the man who had called out might throw a stick of wood across the lodge into the group of children, hitting and hurting one or more of them. It was taught also that, if, when young and old were in the lodge and the fire had burned low, an older person were to lay the unburned ends of the sticks upon the fire, all the children in the lodge would have the scab, or itch. So, at the call "Look out for the scab!" some child would always jump to the fire, and lay up the sticks.

There were various ways of teaching and training the children. Men would make long speeches to groups of boys, playing in the camps, telling them what they ought to do to be successful in life. They would point out to them that to accomplish anything they must be brave and untiring in war; that long life was not desirable; that the old people always had a hard time, were given the worst side of the lodge and generally neglected; that when the camp was moved they suffered from cold; that their sight was dim, so

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

867 that they could not see far; that their teeth were gone, so that
861 they could not chew their food. Only discomfort and misery
[888] await the old. Much better, while the body is strong and in its prime, while the sight is clear, the teeth sound, and the hair still black and long, to die in battle fighting bravely. The example of successful warriors would be held up to them, and the boys urged to emulate their brave deeds. To such advice some boys would listen, while others would not heed it.

[577] The girls also were instructed. All Indians like to see women more or less sober and serious-minded, not giggling all the time, not silly. A Blackfoot man who had two or three girls would, as they grew large, often talk to [237] them and give them good advice. After watching them, and taking the measure of their characters, he would one day get a buffalo's front foot and ornament it fantastically with feathers. When the time came, he would call one of his daughters to him and say to her: "Now I wish you to stand here in front of me and look me straight in the eye without laughing. No matter what I may do, do not laugh." Then he would sing a funny song, shaking the foot in the girl's face in time to the song, and looking her steadily in the eye. Very likely before he had finished, she would begin to giggle. If she did this, the father would stop singing and tell her to finish laughing; and when she was serious again, he would again warn her not to laugh, and then would repeat his song. This time perhaps she would not laugh while he was singing. He would go through with this same performance before all his daughters. To such as seemed to have the steadiest characters, he would give good advice. He would talk to each girl of the duties of a woman's life and warn her against the dangers which she might expect to meet.

At the time of the Medicine Lodge, he would take her to the lodge and point out to her the Medicine Lodge woman.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE BLACKFEET [ca. 1850]

There was a women's society among the Blood and Northern Blackfoot tribes which was unknown among the Piegans. Its members were wives of the most highly respected men in their tribes. Prior to the sun dance in summer, members of this Matoki society built a ceremonial lodge which resembled a buffalo corral, and on the final day of their four-day ritual re-enacted the drive of buffalo into the corral. Some of the members wore buffalo headdresses and mimicked the actions of buffalo.[12]

The aged were no longer abandoned on the plains as had been the common lot of enfeebled old people before the Blackfeet acquired horses. If an old man or woman was too feeble to ride alone, he or she was carried on the A-shaped horse travois. If the head of a family knew he was about to die, he called his relatives together and told them how he wished his horses and other property divided among them. If he died without having made such a verbal will, the other people in camp made a run for his property as soon as they heard his relatives weeping and wailing. Men ran for his horses; women went for his household equipment. The men might take all his best horses and leave the poorest ones for his widow. Close relatives of the deceased, preoccupied with mourning his loss, made no attempt to prevent this raid on his property. Custom decreed that they should not do so. These raids were made with particular relish upon the property of a man of wealth who had had a reputation for miserliness during his lifetime.

No such action followed the death of a highly respected, generous leader. His lodge interior was carefully arranged just as it had been when he had entertained prominent guests. His body was dressed in his finest clothing and laid upon a raised platform of poles in the center of his lodge. Then his relatives painted simple representations of his brave war deeds on his favorite horse, braided its mane and tail and tied feathers in them, and placed his best saddle on the horse's back. In the presence of all the people of the camp this horse and others to be sacrificed were led to the door of the death lodge. Each in turn was shot

[12] *Ibid.*, 430-35.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The travois also served the Blackfoot as a vehicle for transporting the aged, too feeble to ride horseback, as well as the sick and wounded.[88]

WEIGHTS AND LOADS

In 1908, H. W. Daly, chief packer, Office of the Quartermaster-General, recommended a load of 250 pounds for an Army pack mule weighing not less than 850 pounds, traveling 20 to 25 miles a day under ordinary conditions or 10 to 15 miles a day over rough and mountainous country (Daly, 1908, pp. 134, 136). I estimate that a fair load for an Indian pony, weighing approximately 700 pounds, would have been about 200 pounds under similar conditions.

Boller (1868, p. 30), an experienced trader, said the Teton Dakota carried "from 250 to 300 pounds" on the travois. Stanley (1855, p. 449) observed that the Piegan transported "often three hundred pounds" on their travois. The limit for the travois load dragged by the small Indian pony must have been about 300 pounds. I estimate that the lodgepole-dragging horse could pull a load of poles weighing a little more than that of the packhorse but less than that of the travois load. The awkwardness of the load and the friction of the many dragging poles combined to restrict the transport capacity of the pole-dragging animal.

HORSE NEEDS FOR THE AVERAGE FAMILY

We are now in a position to estimate the number of horses required by an average Blackfoot family in the mid-19th century. Our hypothetical average family would number 2 grown males, 3 grown females, and 3 children.[89]

After discussing the horse needs for a family of this size with a half dozen elderly informants (separately), I concluded that a family "should have had" 12 horses, as follows: 1 horse to carry the lodge cover and its accessories; 2 horses to drag the lodgepoles; 2 horses for packing meat, miscellaneous foods, and equipment; 3 horses to carry the women and infants (at least 2 of which would pull travois); 2 common riding horses for the men; and 2 trained buffalo runners for the men. None of these horses would then have to pull or carry heavier loads than those indicated above as fair loads for Indian ponies. However, this estimate makes no allowance for additional horses to

[88] Probably this was widespread Plains Indian practice. Prince Paul (in Butscher, 1942, p. 200) noted Teton Dakota use of the travois to transport "ancient squaws" a century ago. Comparative data on travois use in carrying sick and wounded have been cited (p. 108).

[89] I have derived these figures from Indian Agent Vaughan's estimate of an average of 8 persons to the lodge among the three Blackfoot tribes in 1860. His figures also estimated that women somewhat outnumbered men, and children comprised roughly 40 percent of the Blackfoot population at that time (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1860, p. 308).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Boller (1868, pp. 124–125) was a member of a camp of Hidatsa which traveled on a visit to the Assiniboin in the sixties. He observed that one of the party was an old, lame Assiniboin returning to his people. He "had one horse and a travee, upon which his three children and all his worldly goods were transported. His squaw led the wretched animal" while the old man walked in the rear. They were finally left behind the rest of the moving camp and did not catch up until the day after the others had reached their destination. Boller noted that a squaw with three small children was also left; she carried one on her back and another in her arms, while the eldest trotted along by her side. Some time after, a young Indian who had loitered behind came up and reported that the squaw had just killed the youngest "because it was too small to travel."

Abandonment of the aged poor was common practice among many of the nomadic tribes of the Upper Missouri (Denig, 1930, pp. 576–577). However, both Denig (1953, p. 38) and Larocque (1910, p. 57) claimed the Crow were a notable exception to this rule. Both writers credited the Crow custom of transporting the aged when camp was moved to their relative wealth in horses. Among the Pawnee (Dunbar, 1880, p. 328), Osage (Tixier, 1940, p. 140), and Sauk and Fox (Forsyth in Blair, 1912, vol. 2, pp. 233–234), the aged and the poor were left behind when the great majority of their tribesmen embarked on prolonged buffalo hunts on horseback. Of the Plains Indian tribes in general it may be safely stated that the aged were the first to suffer from a shortage of horses.

Next to suffer were the women. There can be no doubt that the horse proved a great boon to women. The transport horse replaced the pedestrian woman burden bearer as well as the dog travois. The statements quoted below support and underscore Phillip St. George Cooke's generalization regarding the Plains Indians. "The husband strives to obtain wealth in horses to relieve his family of travelling on foot and carrying burdens" (Cooke, 1857, p. 117).[28]

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[28] La Vérendrye noted that "the women and dogs carry all the baggage" among the horseless Assiniboin whom he accompanied to visit the Mandan in 1738 (La Vérendrye, 1927, p. 317). Later traders who met horse-using tribes of the western Plains commented on the improvement in the status of women due to possession of horses. In 1772 Cocking (1908, p. 111) stated that the Gros Ventres "use pack-Horses, which give their Women a great advantage over other Women who are either carrying or hauling sledges every day in the year." Of the Crow, in 1805, Larocque (1910, p. 39) said, "The women are indebted solely to their having horses for the ease they enjoy more than their neighbors." Bourgmont, in 1724, noted the heavy loads carried by Kansa women as well as their dogs and said they had difficulty marching because of the weight of their baggage. At the Padouca (Apache) village a Skidi Pawnee chief told Bourgmont he was eager to make peace with the Padouca "to obtain horses which will help us to carry our belongings when we move to our winter grounds, because our wives and children die under the burden when

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

graded almost imperceptibly into the wealthy class at the top and the poor class at the bottom. Loss of a portion of their herd from an enemy raid could reduce many a middle-class family to poverty.

THE POOR

At the bottom of the economically determined social scale were the poor. They were far more numerous than the wealthy, but less numerous than the middle class. At times they may have numbered 25 percent of the total population. Poor families were dependent upon their relatives or band leaders for even the economic essentials. They borrowed horses to move camp or used dogs for transport animals. They borrowed horses to hunt or received food from the more fortunate. Even their small homes often were the tops of old lodges discarded by wealthy owners, cut down to a size the poor people could transport. The poor family, owning less than 5 horses, had few other possessions. This family was easily recognized by the smallness of its lodge and the shabby appearance of its clothing, transport gear, household utensils, and weapons. Generally the poor owned no fancy dress clothing. Their parfleches were old, worn, and greasy; their rectangular rawhide bags unfringed. The poor man's gun, if he owned one, was generally an old muzzle-loader, broken and tied together with buckskin cord.

Undoubtedly, if the poor man had pride or ambition, he suffered greater mental anguish than physical discomfort. Fellow tribesmen saw to it that he did not starve. Yet he realized that he made a poor appearance among his people and that he owned none of the desirable possessions of members of the upper and middle classes. His self-respect suffered through inability to participate actively in many facets of Blackfoot life. He could not purchase important sacred bundles or membership in a society. His desires and opinions carried no weight in decisions involving band and tribal movements. His marriage prospects were very limited. The aged poor were sometimes left behind when camp was moved owing to lack of adequate transport facilities.

Yet the lot of the poor in horses was no worse among the Blackfoot than among the majority of other nomadic tribes and the horticultural tribes as well.[11]

Ferris (1940, p. 300) writing of the Indians of the northern Rockies prior to 1835, stated:

[11] Dorsey and Murie (1940, p. 115) estimated that the poor among the Skidi Pawnee comprised "less than one-half the members." They were "without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the objects of charity." In 1840, Tixier (1940, p. 135) observed that among the Osage "there are poor people; and those who are poor have no horses, no means of hunting the bison in order to secure meat. They own neither huts nor blankets; they live, so to speak, at the expense of the community."

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

erecting temporary traveling huts of poles, dog travois, and brush near Fort Union in 1833. There is, therefore, ample proof of the use of a dog travois foundation shelter by northern Plains Indians. However, I am inclined to believe that the tipi probably was the primary dwelling of the Blackfoot of the Pedestrian Culture Period. All available information, both traditional and comparative, points to the relative smallness of the homes of the pre-horse Blackfoot.

Nevertheless, it is possible that two or more families may have shared a single lodge in order to minimize the load to be transported. In 1700, Le Sueur (1902, p. 187) noted that "two or three men with their families" lived in one buffaloskin lodge among the pedestrian Sioux near present Mankato, Minn. Three quarters of a century later the elder Henry (1809, p. 309) observed that two to four families resided in a lodge among the horse-poor Assiniboin.

The baggage that could be carried by dogs and women, over and above the lodge itself, must have been very limited. Elaborate lodge furnishings, numerous changes of clothing, extensive supplies of fresh or dried meat, wild fruits and vegetables would have been excess baggage to the pre-horse Blackfoot. So probably would have been large and bulky medicine bundles, such as the natoas, medicine pipe, and beaver bundles of the late 19th century represented in museum collections today. If such bundles existed they probably were of less complex, more rudimentary form. The great bulk of the baggage must have consisted of articles essential to daily living. In the meagerness of its possessions the average Blackfoot family of the Pedestrian Culture Period must have resembled the poor family of 19th century buffalo days, and for the same basic reason—lack of facilities for transporting heavy loads when camp was moved.

The application of horse power to camp movement enabled the Blackfoot to move farther and faster with heavier loads. The horse, packing 200 pounds on its back or hauling 300 pounds on the travois, could move four times the load of a heavily burdened dog twice as far in a day's march. Thus, animal for animal the horse was eight times as efficient as the dog as a burden bearer. Horse transport permitted the manufacture, use, and movement of lodges with larger and heavier covers and longer poles—larger Indian homes. Not only could the family of average means have a home of its own, but the wealthy family often possessed more than one lodge. Not only could essential possessions be moved, but bulky or heavy articles of only occasional use could be taken along. Women no longer were compelled to carry backbreaking burdens, but rode horseback and conserved their energies for other tasks. The aged and the physically handicapped could be carried on travois, and were no longer in danger of abandonment on the Plains by their able-bodied fellows.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

many changes of clothing and seek handsome gear to show off their horses. The decadence of slave raiding decreased women's fears of being taken captive by alien peoples.

The coming of the horse offered greater security to the aged and the physically handicapped. Whereas their lives were formerly sacrificed because they could not be taken along with the moving camp, these people could live well in the Horse Culture Period if they owned horses which others might use to kill buffalo and move camp for them. Stingy, the wealthy, blind, influential Piegan (frequently mentioned in previous pages), probably would have died in infancy had he been born during the Pedestrian Culture Period.

The band, basic political and residential unit among the Blackfoot, probably was a stable, exogamic organization of blood relatives, led by the most able, mature man in the group in the Pedestrian Culture Period. By the waning decades of buffalo days the Blackfoot band had become a fluid organization, composed both of related and unrelated families, within which marriage was permitted. Necessity for extensive reorganization of bands following serious plagues and war losses in historic times undoubtedly contributed to this change in the character of Blackfoot bands. Dependence of the poor in horses upon the charity of wealthy leaders helped to keep the bands fluid. The poor followed the leader who was able and willing to offer them the greatest security through dispensing gifts of food and gifts or loans of horses. They readily shifted their band allegiance if they thought they could improve their condition thereby.

It is doubtful whether the ability to dispense individually owned property to other band members was a factor of any importance in the selection of a band chief in the Pedestrian Culture Period when, presumably, there were no marked extremes of wealth and poverty. However, in the Horse Culture Period requirements for band leadership came to include considerable wealth and a willingness to employ it for the alleviation of the poor.

INFLUENCE ON RELIGION

If the Blackfoot Indians looked upon dogs as sacred animals in the days when dogs were their only domesticated animals, their descendants appear to have no traditions regarding that attitude. I have found no trace in Blackfoot culture of a dog cult organized for the express purpose of appealing to dog spirits for aid in doctoring or influencing the actions of dogs.

On the other hand, the horse came to occupy a position of considerable prominence in Blackfoot religious beliefs and rituals. The sudden appearance of this animal, whose services did so much to lighten the daily tasks of the Indians and to raise their standard of living,

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

575 561 179 174 439 177 178 622

at this time is intelligible in that they were an ideal mechanism for expressing and channelizing the vertical mobility which came with the increase in wealth.

Of great significance was the effect of the fur trade upon the authority of the chiefs. This varied at different periods in the history of the fur trade depending upon whether monopoly or competition prevailed. In periods of monopoly the fur trade had a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it had a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the authority of the chiefs. The Hudson's Bay Company had had a well established trade with the Blackfoot. It had made it a matter of policy to deal only with the chiefs and headmen, and had conferred many honors upon them (medals, chief's coats, etc.) to enhance their authority over their followers. Since all trading with the whites had to be carried on through the chiefs and headmen it gave the latter a monopoly of white trading goods. With the increase in competition these conditions were altered. In order to gain a foot-hold the competitors of the Hudson's Bay Company brought their wares to the very tipi doors of the Indians and made their appeal to the younger men. The result of this policy is stated by Henry Jr.

> "It is lamentable that the natives in general, in this country, have lost that respect they formerly had for their chiefs. The principal cause of this is the different petty co-partnerships which of late have invaded this country from Canada; the consequences are now serious to us as the natives have now been taught to despise the council of their elders . . . ."[137]

The competition between the fur companies was accompanied by sharp trading practices which the Blackfoot soon learned themselves. Franklin, writing from Fort Carlton where he met some Blackfoot in 1819, said,

> "The mode of carrying on the trade (competition) is also productive of an increasing deterioration of the character of the Indians and will probably ultimately prove destructive of the fur trade itself. Indeed, the evil has already in part recoiled upon the traders, for the Indians long deceived have become deceivers in turn, and not infrequently after having incurred a heavy debt at one post, move to another, to play the same game."[138]

[888] [593]

Another fur trader remarked that the authority of the elders had diminished to the point where fathers could no longer control the produce of their own sons.

> "They are all remarkably proud of being great men but still they have little or no influence over the others . . . after making the father a chief, you are sometimes

[137] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550.

[138] John Franklin, *Narrative of A Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, Vol. 1, pp. 130–131.

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth, and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. Moreover, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial importance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as warriors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children.

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for membership and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which membership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis autonomous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping else-
[621] where. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disadvantages of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the fam-
[603] ily. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent considerable time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kɨpiitʃ'puka* ("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[388] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relinquished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic consider-
431 ations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
554 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kindness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
513 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[958] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
178 The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed "grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontoc-
657 racy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunt-
[554] ing and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers. Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day, freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the author-
[621] ity is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
[182] many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[622] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, pri-
[177] marily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus, through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

177 legislation that might affect the Tribe. On these trips these men
184 dress in their regalia and pose for pictures with government officials.
565 They are symbols of the American Indian seeking redress of ancient
554 wrongs.
[664]

Both in the council and on such trips, the Chiefs see themselves as spokesmen for the full-bloods and take every occasion to speak out, usually in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and requesting more help for "the People"--the full-bloods.

177 Few people, even among their followers, accept this political
184 role of the Chiefs. The persons in the audience talk, move about and
565 impatiently pass the time until the Honorary Councilmen have had their
554 say. On one occasion, the Chairman asked the translator to "tell him
643 to make it short." The people, in general, take pride in their old
[888] timers, but want them to exercise their influence outside of Council.
[191] They are handicapped, too, as political leaders because they speak little English and so fail to communicate directly with many of the people they seek to influence. They wish to arrive at decisions by the traditional council method that requires lengthy discussion and unanimity. The dominant culture and society within which they must act, the white and white-oriented leaders that must be influenced, do not allow time for this method of resolving issues. The men are extended the courtesy of free speech, but this does not include giving much attention to what they say.

177 These men have attained this status by the routes of wisdom,
184 skill and generosity. Wisdom and skill have developed through their
565 experience. Their fathers, as youths, saw the last of the buffalo days
554

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

177 184 565 554 salaries in Agency or Council positions but they use this income to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the enterprise.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb [626] their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject [561] them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth [888] is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age [571] and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful, and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill and generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present Chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young Chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential acculturation within the Indian-oriented society. As will be seen later, people of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

Low Status[197]

Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by characteristics greatly similar to those of the same status in white-oriented

[197] Three of the eight Indian-oriented subjects in the probability sample are ranked in this class (Cases 10, 32, and 47).

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red (Fig. 2). [561] [575] [796] [411] [292] [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off. Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted red. [237]

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades. [302] [898] [887]

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums. [534]

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant. [535]

575 561 432 did not remain in the same society throughout. Every four years or so they transferred their rights of membership to younger men and themselves obtained the rights to the society next senior. These transfers, although generally made at the same time during the summer camp, were, however, individual transactions, the junior man making a payment of robes, weapons or horses for the regalia and rank within the society to the man whose place he wished to take. The latter then belonged to no society until he proceeded to purchase membership in the society above from an individual who was ready to sell.

575 561 Thus, once every four years as a rule, all the men save the oldest changed their society for the one next senior, while the youths joined the lowest for the first time. The societies as a whole, therefore, fell into a graded series, through which each individual passed as through forms at school. As at school, individuals did not always start at the bottom, and one or two might skip a grade later on or stay behind beyond [888] the normal period. Moreover, a few old men became honorary members of the more junior societies and acted as instructors, while one or two young men were admitted to the senior societies to serve as messengers and helpers of the old and less active majority.

In each of the three divisions of the Blackfoot the senior societies corresponded closely with each other, with similar names and relative order, but the number and names of the junior societies showed greater differences, probably because they were formed in more recent times after the three divisions had separated or lost their former close contact. Among the Piegan division the names and order of the societies at the end of the last century were: Pigeons, Mosquitoes, Braves, All-Brave-Dogs, Front Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kitfoxes, Catchers, and, most senior, the Bulls. This system of graded societies was a special development which had spread among [171] some of the northern Plains tribes. Among other tribes the societies remained at an earlier stage without official grading or provisions for systematic transfer.

575 Apart from the ceremonies and dances, which probably loomed largest in the members' eyes, the functions of the societies were mainly to maintain order and co-operative action in the camp during the communal hunt and migrations of the summer seasons. For the rest of the year they were in abeyance and the members were scattered among the various bands. [622] When the bands assembled in the spring, the leaders of the societies conferred with the [illegible] chiefs, who outlined their

Who My Grandmothers Are

MY OWN GRANDMA, AnadaAki, was born in a tipi during the eighteen eighties. She has come a long way to her present place in life, which includes being the family elder as well as being a devoted fan of the TV serial "As the World Turns." If you heard her British-accented voice calling out for someone to turn on the TV you would not imagine that she was raised in the household of one of the last great medicine men among the Bloods.

AnadaAki means Pretty Woman in our language. It is the name that she has carried longest. When she entered school she became known as Hilda Heavy Head, and when she married my grandfather she became Hilda Beebe. After my grandfather died, she remarried and became known as Hilda Strangling Wolf. To top off this name-changing, her real father's name was Joseph Trollinger, a German name which she never carried.

Grandma AnadaAki has spent a lot of her recent years in the home of my parents, although I think she would rather still have her own household. Because my father's mother died when when he was still a small boy, AnadaAki is the only one of my real grandmothers that I ever met. But among

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

888 "No, I don't think it is so great to be this old.[A] It was all right until lately, getting to see so many grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren. I feel like all the young people are my grandchildren. But now I am nearly blind, and I have about lost my sense of taste and my appetite. I don't care to eat anymore, unless it is something real sweet that I can taste. Life has been very good to me, but I don't want to end it becoming helpless and feeble."

A TRADITIONAL BLOOD MARRIAGE: A Grandmother Who Married at Seven

582 In the old days of buffalo hunting and living with nature, my grandmothers often got married when they were still little girls, while my grandfathers often were likely to wait until they had overcome their love for constant fighting and adventure, which was usually not until they were near thirty 582 years old. It was not unusual for men in their twenties to be 595 single and living in the lodges of their parents, and it was common for a proud man of sixty or seventy to have six or seven wives, including some that were young enough to be his grandchildren.

The matter of multiple wives and young brides is another that must be seen from the viewpoint of my ancestors' natural 000 life-styles to be understood and appreciated. For other examples of such male-female relationships we need only look at wild animals, such as the buffalo and elk, that my ancestors lived near. The big old bulls are the ones who have harems of cows, while the young bulls hang around together and only occasionally manage to find a spare cow to take for a wife.

One result of those old-time relationships, if we place any value on the philosophy of survival of the fittest, is that in the past the older men among my people were those who had

A [i.e., about 100--Analyst]

boiled them until they just started cooking. She would quit 251
boiling them before they got soft and tender, then she would hang them up on her strings near the ceiling to dry. She would blow air into some of them so that they looked like balloons. That made them dry more quickly.

The lungs were not cooked, they were just sliced and hung up to dry. All the excess fat inside the body was hung up, too, so that the moisture would dry out of it. It was later served with the dried meat. Some fats in the animal were 252
rendered into lard instead of being dried.

If the animal was a female, my grandmother would prepare the teats or udders by boiling or barbecuing. They were never eaten raw. Sometimes they ate the brains—always raw—but they usually saved them for use in tanning instead. The tongue was always boiled if it wasn't dried. It is an ancient delicacy, and served as the food of communion at the Sun Dance. Even old animals have tender tongues.

If the animal was big she would cut the meat from the cheeks and inside the head. This meat always had to be boiled a long time before it got tender. Since my grandmother was first married to a German she learned how to make the head cheese that is so popular over there. She would crush the head with her ax and boil all the meat off the pieces of bone. Later on, this kind of food became quite popular among the Bloods.

If the animal was a female with an unborn young or a suckling, this was fed to the older people, because it was so tender. The meat would be boiled, and the guts would be taken out and braided, and then boiled, too. If the calf was too small it was just thrown away.

The animal's bones were broken open for the marrow grease. For instance, the shinbones were skinned out, then my grandmother would take a big rock, or her ax, and she would strike the bones about halfway between the joints. Then she would scoop out the grease and put it in a con-

some things, the parents would always tell them things like: "Don't go away from the tipi or the wolf will come and take you." They said: "Don't go around at night because that's when the ghosts are out and they will come for you." Things like this kept the little kids right close to home. If the mother had to go somewhere on foot, she would carry along her toddler wrapped in a blanket and worn on her back. Compared to modern mothers, my grandmothers really indulged in their children. The kids grew up in the midst of the daily household, so they learned family values and customs naturally.

My grandmother told me the following story about her childhood:

"I was the youngest of my mother's children. She wanted us to grow old, so she encouraged us to follow her advice. She taught us from the start to respect old people. Because my father was a medicine man we had a lot of old people as visitors. Sometimes my mother would give me a piece of meat and tell me, 'Go ask that old lady to chew your food for you.' This would be some special old lady—one with a lot of power to doctor or put up Sun Dances. She would chew my meat and then give it to me to swallow. This was a blessing for me, just like getting part of her life. Whenever we had any spare change we were taught to give it to old people like that.

"Because a lot of holy people always came to visit my father we were taught not to fool around near them. These people who have spiritual powers are required to follow a lot of rules. We were never allowed to pass in front of them, especially if they were smoking. These were the rules and we never thought to question them. My father painted his children and his grandchildren, and he prayed for them, so that no harm would come to them in case they passed in front of him accidentally or did something else against the rules.

"If the children of a household didn't behave then the mother or father might go and get some old man or old lady to come and give them a lecture. If the kids were still acting bad that old person would just pull out an awl and pierce their ears right then. That worked very well in teaching kids a lesson.

"In my young days all the kids had their ears pierced for earrings, anyway—boys and girls. Usually this was done by some old lady, when we were still babies. Round pieces of shell were the most popular kind of earring decoration among us Bloods."

Because we spend a lot of time with our elders, my kids have learned from the start to have respect. Even today we get old people in our home who have certain rules that must be followed around them. When our grandfather was around, for instance, everyone had to stay seated while he was eating his food. The kids enjoy having the old people around because they get to hear a lot of stories and songs. Some of the children's songs have silly sayings in them, such as: "Magpie, magpie, go before me and stab your bag by the door"; or "Gopher, gopher, with bouncing breasts; with bouncing breasts; with bouncing breasts."

Sometimes the old person gets the kids to play a game, like pinching the tops of each other's hands and holding on to them until there is a big pile of hands. The first one that lets go gets tickled from the rest. The songs are called lullaby songs, and mothers used to sing them to their babies to put them to sleep. Kind of a scary one had these words: "Wolf, wolf, come eat this baby that won't go to sleep."

Little kids used to be left to play together, and in the summer they often went naked. But as soon as they got old enough to know the difference between boys and girls, they were separated. From then on the girls were watched carefully by their mothers and aunts, and no boys were allowed

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taken north and now it is a white man's Pipe. But my old Pipe, it has a lot of Spirits; I'm sure [776]
that it hears me talking about it right now.

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That Pipe belonged to me two times. The first time it was transferred to me. The second time, 425
it was returned to me after the death of the person I transferred it to. We went to his mother [old Mrs. Day Rider] to pay our respects. She is a relative of ours. Mrs. Day Rider came over and kissed me, and she was crying. She said, "Oki, [768]
Big Snake, go get your Pipe. You don't have to pay on it, just get painted for it again." I didn't say anything. I just looked at her. My brothers, Jack and Jim Low Horn, they told me, "Why aren't you talking? It's your Pipe. Take it. It won't be good for it to be around a sad place."

After the funeral I went to her house. She was walking outside, crying. She just pointed to the house. I went inside and I hugged my Pipe. I told it that a sad thing happened to it because its Owner died. I took it and started home. That's why I had it a second time.

THE LONG-TIME PIPE

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Some of our People think that the Long-Time Pipe was in the Bundle originally given by Thun- 793
der. They call the Long-Time Medicine Pipe *Mesam-Achkuineman*. Our People hold that [622]
Bundle in special reverence; its Owners are often chiefs.

The earliest-known Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Grey Broad Head. He was remembered by a much later Owner, Stephen Fox, who died not long ago near the age of one hundred. Stephen Fox was still a young man when he met Grey Broad Head, who was then about one hundred himself. This man attributed his old age to [888]
the Power he got while keeping the Long-Time Pipe. He told Stephen Fox that his payments for [435]
the Pipe included fifty dogs. That was back when [492]
our People relied on dogs for help in moving camp and packing meat. [231]

[p. 147A]

GUY WOLF CHILD

Guy Wolf Child, at ninety-two years, is usually the oldest dancer at our ceremonies. Until a couple of years ago, he came to the dance circle dressed in only a breechcloth and moccasins, his face and body painted, and carrying two or three large willow hoops so that he could do one more encore of the old hoop dance. He used to keep up to six hoops moving on each of his arms and legs, as well as one on his head, each hand, and waist. 535 796 [292]

Today, Guy Wolf Child is white-haired and blind. He usually sits quietly in the corner of a room and tries not to trouble anyone. If there is any sign of drunkenness, he asks to be escorted outside and away from the house. When we came to see him, he was thrilled to have company. He made sure he knew who everyone was, and said, "When we meet we shake hands. That is the way we have relatives. That is the only way that I will know them now." We told him about the nice photo of his father, old Wolf Child, and he asked if we had it with us. He told us, "Lay it in my lap so that I can at least touch the picture of my father, since I can no longer see it." 156 887 888

We asked him what thoughts about the past made him happy, and he replied as follows:

I always enjoy thinking about the past, back when I was young and could dance good. I don't remember the times before I went to school too well. I don't know how long I was in school, but I remember that when I came out, the modern life had started. Things already seemed very modern to me. I used to do all kinds of work for different white men, they used to treat us pretty good back then. 829 178

All things are different today. In the Old Days we all wore leggings, only lately they started to wear pants. Even the Sun Dances are different today. Everyone used to get together for them when I was younger. We used to play a game with [291] [796] 000

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

they have little knowledge. As women take important parts in most ritualistic ceremonies, such restrictions are not correlated with sex differences. Then, again, all elderly persons are assumed to have had considerable experience in ritualistic ceremonies; hence young people usually hesitate to narrate myths in deference to the rights of their elders.

CLARK WISSLER.

NEW YORK CITY,
July 11, 1908.

Cut-Nose

On several occasions I saw the girl standing with hands raised to the sky, praying for the safe return of her sweetheart as old Three Bears rode by shaking his rattle and calling upon all to pray for the absent ones. Beautiful, lissome she was. Her kindly, serious eyes, her every action bespoke the fact that here was a real woman.

Close back of camp, on the north side of the creek, was a high sandstone cliff; there lone old men were wont to sit, alert for signs of any approaching enemy, looking sadly down upon the activities of the great camp, off to the billowing plain, scene of many a successful hunt, of exciting adventure when they had been young and full of life. Early one morning, as Bear Head and I were going to the creek to bathe, there were three of the oldsters perched upon the cliff. Pointing to them, he said: "*Apikuni*, don't you dread the time when we, too, will be sitters upon cliffs, just feeble cliff-sitters, nothing more?"

"Let's not think of it," I answered.

We did not bathe that morning, for as we neared the creek the old men upon the cliff sprang up and stood alertly staring at the plain to the south, hands shading their eyes from the early sun; waved their wraps and shouted to attract our attention; and then in the sign language: "Pikunis coming; driving many horses; they are near." Whereat Bear Head and I ran back to camp, an excited camp, everyone staring at the south rim of the plain, excitedly talking; children bawling, dogs barking, horses prancing at the ends of their picket ropes. And presently appeared a big band of horses hurtling down the slope, the war party close following. They had stopped somewhere not far out and painted themselves and their mounts; put on their fringed and beaded and quilled war clothes and bonnets of eagle feathers. On they came, brandishing their weapons, holding aloft some scalps, singing fiercely the Victory Song. What a sight, a stirring sight, they were!

The women and children ran out across the flat to greet their returning husbands, fathers, brothers, sweethearts; surrounded and escorted them in, shouting their names, praising them for their bravery and success in despoiling the hated Crows. Meanwhile, the men in camp, standing before their lodges and enjoying the lively scene,

reputation or prowess of its leader. By and large, the chiefs are the ones who are remembered as important 19th-century figures; even if someone gained a reputation as a warrior or shaman, he was more likely to be recalled if this ability had enabled him to become a chief of his band.

While hereditary leadership was not mandatory among the Bloods, usually a son, brother, or son-in-law took control upon the death of a chief. However, because of the flexibility of the band system, the selection was made by the band members themselves, either by consensus or through a direct vote. If no consensus could be reached, a candidate might state that he was moving camp the following morning; this would force members of the band to decide whether to go with him or to remain with one of the other aspirants. Often two contenders might be brothers, such as occurred in 1870 when Black Bear, leader of the Fish Eaters, died in a smallpox epidemic, and both Red Crow and his brother Sheep Old Man aspired to the position. When Red Crow observed that public opinion was favoring him, he announced he was moving, and those who were undecided finally chose to follow the majority and go with him.

Yet a family relationship was not the only criterion in selecting a new chief. As George Simpson noted in 1841: "The office of Chief is often hereditary, but his birth alone, uncombined with talent or bravery, does not secure any consideration in the tribe, & the son of the most powerful Chief would, if unendowed with these qualities, sink into perfect insignificance & contempt, being what the Indians very emphatically term 'pitiful'." Simpson further noted that the chieftainship was not a lifetime appointment, but was valid only as long as the man was capable of leading the band. "When the first symptoms of old age creep upon him, he very wisely abdicates (to avoid being dismissed more brusquely) in favor of his son or some other successor."

Such a resignation was noted by a fur trader in 1794 (M'Gillivray, 1934:50), when The Swan, a leading Blackfoot chief, was "worn out with age and disability" and was "forced to resign his

[p. 96-B]

to believe this is frequently the case. 597

In the households that have adopted children, or are raising them, one might expect to encounter rivalries between the siblings and the adopted children. However, these rivalries are minimized to a large degree through age differences between the children. Where several adoptions have occurred in one family one can see how this operates. An adopted child was ten years old and already in school when a boy was born into the family. Both these children were married and away from home when a third child, a five year old boy, was adopted. In such a situation there is minimal opportunity for conflicts. 593

It is almost invariably said that adopted children are exceptionally well treated. It is thought that the adopted child is often accorded better treatment than a man's own child. There appears to be a good deal of truth in this, for adopted children seem to be consistently well cared for, to the best of their foster parents' ability. Naturally, the number of things done for them depends upon the wealth of the adopting family. In a prosperous one the child might even be considered *minipuka* or favorite child, a more or less institutionalized way of showing special affection for a child. [858]

It is felt to be quite natural for a man to be more concerned over the care of an adopted child than over his own. In the first place, he desired the child enough to ask for it. If he doesn't look after it carefully people will talk about him and say that if he cannot do better than he is doing he ought to return it. To be forced into such a course would be a great disgrace. The Blackfoot, who are materialists as well as sentimentalists, also point out that when a child has grown up and is in a position to care for his parents, he will be especially grateful to those who gave him a good home. Thus the child becomes something of an investment which will mature later when the parents are growing old and need the support of sons and daughters. [626] [858] [888]

Lowie, speaking of the Crow, says that adopted children are exceptionally well treated, as if this were compensation for the subconscious feeling that the tie is after all fictitious (Lowie 1920:78). 171

A situation in which an adopted child is given preferred treatment over a man's own children seems fraught with trouble. One would expect any number of cases where there was dissension, to say the least, between the children in a family. But instances of this sort are rare. There is one 597

684 681 175

were refused the comfort of entering Sun's lodge and making offerings to Those Above. Daily from lodge to lodge they begged for work and food and the privilege of sleeping near the doorway. None liked to look at them, so closely did their faces resemble the face of a human skull.[55]

Facial mutilation is a harsh penalty for adultery. When it is accompanied by ostracism from the community and denial of religious rights, it is brutal. Yet, it appears from Schultz that such treatment for shaming one's husband was not uncommon, and according to the illustrations in Blackfoot and Buffalo (pp. 352-353), It-si-yi-niki, the last of these cut-nosed women, died as recently as 1930. This is a definite statement of the relationship between goodness, success, and appearance. There are, however, other ways of manifesting goodness beyond the avoidance of beatings or brutality.

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In the evening I was invited to a feast given by Big Lake. Rising Wolf, was also a guest along with a number of other staid and sober men. Young men seldom feasted and smoked with their elders, and in the camp there were many coteries, or social sets, just as we find them in any civilized community, with the exception that there was no jealousy or rivalry between them; no one felt that its members were in any way better than the members of another set.[56]

[561]

[888]

Equalitarian social sets associated with generous feasting were typical of the age-graded Blackfoot society of this period. Although rank and decision-making power did reside in the hands of the older and spiritually more powerful men, to some degree this was primarily a function of age and chance.